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thing he carried. Near him were several of the African boys dead, and in front lay two Mavite. Having buried the body of their leader they left the spot, and after a time recrossed the lake at Kampunda ; but so confused is their story, that it is impossible to indicate their path to Keelwa further than that it lay north of that by which they went.

(Signed) "JOHN KIRK."

"To Dr. Seward, H.M.'s Acting Consul."

3. *Extracts from a Letter of Dr. KIRK to Sir R. I. MURCHISON, BART., dated the 9th December, 1866.*

"MY DEAR SIR RODERICK,

"Although the evidence is, in many points, contradictory in detail, and the survivors can give no clear account of their route, I find no cause to doubt their veracity in the main points of the narrative, and allow for much from the fact that an early flight alone saved them—an act of cowardice which would lead them in a measure to exaggerate some of the circumstances. One great difficulty is, that they speak the language of Johanna only, for this necessitates the use of unskilled interpreters.

"Our last communication from Dr. Livingstone was written by him on the 18th May. He was then at Ngomano, where he remained 15 days, and probably his letter was written about the beginning of that time, or soon after his arrival. We know that he started from Mikindany, struck the Rovuma about 30 miles from its mouth, and proceeded to Ngomano, without encountering any obstacle ; so far the natives were friendly, but the paths were most difficult, owing to the dense forest and tangled vegetation. I need not recount what he has narrated, and what has, no doubt, been communicated to you through Her Majesty's Secretary of State ; but shall briefly state, so far as I have learned, the condition of the party when at Ngomano. They mustered in all thirty-six, viz. :—Dr. Livingstone, 12 Bombay sepoy, 10 Johanna men, 9 boys (African) educated, and 4 Africans who had gone with him from the Zambezi to Bombay, where they awaited his return.

"Ngomano, on the confluence of Rovuma and Niende, is the country between these streams, so that he had crossed the Rovuma before reaching the village of the Chief, commonly named the 'N'donde.' The Niende was seen to be the main stream, the Rovuma being secondary to it. From previous expeditions we know that the Rovuma, below the confluence, is very subject to sudden rises and falls. In May it would be a considerable stream, but in October

and November a dry bed with hardly a boat-passage, and fordable every mile. Above the confluence of the Niende, therefore, it must have become a series of almost isolated pools, if the Niende was the main source. On Dr. Livingstone's arrival, the country was in a disordered state; a drought had injured the crop, and the little left had been carried off to the north of the Rovuma by a marauding tribe of Mavite. Dr. Livingstone seems to have obtained provisions from the Mabiha of the south-east, and 15 days after his arrival to have proceeded westward. The first day's march was over desert country, but the following day they again met the Rovuma, but did not cross it. They had taken a path which formed a chord to one of the river-bends, passing small villages of the Walolo, a tribe speaking the Makua language, and differing in little but the mark on the forehead from the main tribe to the south. They reached hills towards the end of the third day's march; these were clothed with bamboo jungles, but little water was found. Here one of the Africans, educated at Bombay, died. On the fourth and fifth days they seem to have crossed open grassy plains with trees; they were steadily making an ascent, as indicated by the coldness of the mornings.

"On the seventh day they were at Makarika, where they rested two days, and after eleven marches came to Mataka, a town of considerable size, the residence of a Chief, who has power over a large district and many people; these are of the Waiao tribe, the same whom we called Ajawa, on the Zambesi. This is a high mountainous country with fine scenery and abundant water. The streams passed had a south-east direction, or seemed to flow to the Niende, and one crossed on the ninth day's march from Ngomano was of considerable size.

"This region is well peopled, and has abundance of cattle, besides goats and fowls. While here Dr. Livingstone was well received by the Chief, presents were exchanged, and provisions obtained. In the short journey already accomplished, the Bombay sepoy had proved unequal to the fatigues and irregular supply of food; the cattle and camels employed to carry loads had died, seemingly from the Tsetse fly, and drilled sepoy were of no use to take their place; they were fatigued and useless. Here Dr. Livingstone discarded all, except the Havildar, who bravely stuck by him, and advanced while his men returned towards the coast, in company with a slave-caravan which passed that way, soon after Dr. Livingstone had left Mataka. An estimate of Dr. Livingstone's confidence in these men may be formed from the fact that his letters and despatches were entrusted to the chief Mataka to be given to the first caravan: these

important documents have not yet been received, although six of the sepoys have come in, and Arab caravans arrived at Quiloa. Great interest will attach to the recovery of these papers, as in them Dr. Livingstone would probably state whether he purposed again returning to Ngomano (where he had left some stores on advancing), after having settled the end of the Nyassa and its northern limits to the Tanganyika. I have little doubt myself that any idea he may have had of returning had, by this time, been abandoned; indeed, it seemed contrary to Dr. Livingstone's nature to retrace his steps, nor could he have done so without disorganising his now enfeebled expedition. His only chance of keeping the remainder together seems to have been to advance beyond the regions in which desertion was easy. Having been 15 days at Mataka his party advanced, still in a westerly course, the first day's march one of the Bombay educated negroes ran back, and returned to Zanzibar eventually with the sepoys.

"Eight days' march over hilly country took them to Makata, one day distant from the border of a lake; the chief Makata rules over a large district, extending to the waters of the lake. Whether this is the same man as the Makaka mentioned in Lieutenant-Colonel Rigby's despatch of the 15th July, 1860, relating to Dr. Roscher's murder near the Rovuma, I am unable to say; but think it extremely probable. In this case Dr. Roscher must have reached the lake further north than has been supposed, but no papers were recovered to decide with any certainty where the fatal event took place. At Makata's another Bombay educated boy deserted.

"The day following their arrival at the lake they obtained four canoes, and, embarking in the morning, were all landed on the opposite shore by midday. Comparing this water with parts of the Zanzibar Harbour, my informants, the Johanna men, estimate the width as nearly six miles, which, from the time taken to cross, seems under the truth; but it is to be remembered they are not explicit as to when they embarked. On this, however, they are decided, that water extended to the north as far as they could see, and they heard of no end in that direction. To the south it seemed still wider. They also stated that the canoes were propelled by means of poles, and paddles were seldom used. The water was not deep; the opposite shore was of white sand, with plains to the west, but no hills visible, although high mountains appeared to the south. The lake extended at this place north and south.

"That night they slept at a small village on the western shore, and, leaving the water behind, marched west to Kampunda, or, as they often pronounce it, Mapunda. The people of this place possess

only a few cattle (only a few cattle were seen in town), but they gave a goat to Dr. Livingstone, and he remained one day. One of the Zambesi boys, Wakotani by name, deserted here; and the Havildar, worn out by disease, which attacked him on crossing the Nyassa, lagged behind and was left. Dr. Livingstone's party was thus reduced to 20 men, all told; of these, however, very few knew how to handle firearms, and could be of no service in case of a determined attack by natives. They left Mapunda, and arrived at Marenga after two days' march over level land, journeying west. No hills were crossed, although mountains were seen to the south; but there was a small hill at Kampunda. After remaining a day at Marenga, they again followed a westerly course over smooth ground. Marenga, who was civil to the party, ferried them in canoes over a muddy channel or swamp, rather than river. Soon after this they passed Maksura, still keeping west, and slept one night in the jungle. They had been told that the Mavite were fighting in this part; but they had been so long near them, that Dr. Livingstone seemed not to regard it. This was to the men; but, no doubt, he was aware that suddenly he might find himself face to face with them, as happened to us on a former occasion on Lake Nyassa, not far south of this very place. The fatal attack occurred at 9 A.M. in the morning's march. As to the date, it is doubtful. If the data such as I have been able to elicit, from a mass of contradictory evidence, is to be relied on, it would be about the 15th of July; not before then, but possibly, if there had been stoppages, of which no account has been taken, as late as the end of that month. A great difficulty here occurs: for, on reckoning back from the date of arrival of the Johanna men at Zanzibar, we find a discrepancy of nearly a month unaccounted for. And whether this is to be intercalated before or after the fight, I am as yet quite unable to determine; but if the meeting with the Mavite and Dr. Livingstone's death did not happen in July, it must have happened in the following month. I am at present inclined to think it happened about the last week of July. The question of date must be held as far from being settled; but this in no way affects the more important part of the narrative. As I was saying, about 9 A.M. in the morning's march, they found themselves traversing a plain country covered with grass as high as a man's waist, and abounding in low bushes with forest-trees and dense wood at intervals, such, indeed, as is seen a little further south, where the country is known. Livingstone led the way, having next to him, as usual, the Zambesi boys and the Bombay educated Africans, while Moosa, the head of the Johanna men, drew up the rear. As Moosa is our only

authority for what happened at this time, I may state that he was about 50 yards behind Dr. Livingstone when the boys passed the word from the Doctor in front that the Mavite were seen a little distance off. On this he ran forward, having with him his loaded rifle. When he had reached within ten paces of Dr. Livingstone, the Mavite were near and charging, their heads dressed with feathers visible above the large Caffre shields of ox-hide. Their arms were spears and battle-axes. On seeing Dr. Livingstone and his boys with levelled muskets, they checked their charge for a moment, and came on with a hissing sound when they found they were not fired on. Dr. Livingstone then shot the foremost man; he dropped dead; the others fired, and, as the smoke cleared away, Moosa saw three men facing Dr. Livingstone. Moosa was at this time standing behind a tree, in order to fire. Seeing the Mavite suddenly so close, he appears to have been panic-stricken. Dr. Livingstone had emptied his gun, and was endeavouring to reload, when faced by these three Mavite, who cut him down with a blow from a battle-axe which severed the neck-bone, so that the head dropped forward and he fell instantly. What happened on the field after this is unknown. Moosa ran off, and having been behind probably was unseen, while the Mavite attacked those who were with the Doctor and had fired.

“Moosa in his flight met his men; they had already heard the firing a little way in front, and were prepared to throw down their loads and make off. This they now did, and ran to a distance, where they hid themselves in the bush. Near sunset they came out; and, desirous of seeing if any of the loads still remained, they stealthily approached the place. Finding nothing where they had thrown them down, and seeing no one, they became bolder and cautiously advanced, when they saw Dr. Livingstone's body stripped of all but the trousers, and presenting one wound in the back of the neck. They scraped a hole in the soil, and placed the body there, covering it over with earth. They did not stay longer; near Livingstone's corpse were the bodies of two of the boys, which they recognised in the dim light by the ragged trousers still on them. The corpses of two Mavite lay near, it might be 20 yards off, their shields by their sides, but spears and axes had been carried off. Nothing remained to bring away, the Mavite had taken all; the nine Johanna men who have come back saw two boys dead. One Johanna man and all the Bombay and Zambesi boys are missing; and there is little chance that any one of them ever returns, taking as truth the statements solemnly made by the Johanna man and his eight companions, who all declare that, although, with the exception

of Moosa, none saw Dr. Livingstone fall, yet they assisted afterwards in depositing the body in its shallow grave.

"I shall not now follow in detail the narrative of the return journey. Dr. Livingstone was gone; it has, therefore, little interest. It was only a gang of ignorant negroes, destitute of everything and fearing every man they saw, endeavouring first to avoid habitations, then joining a coast caravan, which they met after crossing the lake at Kampunda. On the way to the coast at Quiloa the party was suddenly attacked by a party of Mavite and dispersed. Every one fled, the Johanna men now for the second time; ivory and slaves were abandoned and left to the will of the dreaded marauders. No account is given by the Johanna men of their having crossed the Rovuma on the return journey; but they crossed some river-beds, at that time dry, with pools of water in them. No doubt one of these was the Rovuma, which could be little more than as described in the dry season before the junction of the Niende, its chief supply.

"Thus has ended what at one time promised to be an expedition rich in results, and we must again pause in the march of discovery, leaving the map of Africa a disconnected string of lakes, every one of which is incompletely surveyed. Beginning at the north, the Victoria Nyanza is known only at its north and south ends; the intermediate coast on the west side has not been seen, and the east is entirely hypothetical, beyond the simple fact that it must have limits in that direction. As to the Albert, but a small part is known, and, like the Tanganyika, its north and south ends are as yet a blank. The southern end, however, is now the only one of interest, on account of the possibility of its uniting with the Tanganyika, and thus moving the Nile sources far to the south, and proving the Portuguese who visited Cazembe to have been the first to reach them.

"I do not say that such a thing is probable; I believe it is not. I suspect, however, that Dr. Livingstone was satisfied the Nyassa did not extend far beyond where he crossed it, if, indeed, it was the Nyassa that he passed over. His first object and one of his chief aims was to determine the extent of the Nyassa northwards, and it is very improbable that he would push on into an unknown and decidedly dangerous land beyond it, leaving this important point unaccomplished. That it was the northern prolongation of the Nyassa I am decidedly inclined to believe: for, firstly, the general direction from Ngomano—which was west—would lead him there. It could be none of the southern crossings by which he traversed the lake, for indeed no part of the lake south of lat. 11° s. is shallow,

certainly nowhere could it be crossed in canoes propelled by long bamboos. On the western side, also, there are hills at all the crossings, except at Kota Kota, and there the lake is wide. I believe that Dr. Livingstone first came upon the lake nearer lat. 10° , where the lofty mountains which were seen by us further south, on both sides, have subsided. The precipitous rocky borders of the Nyassa, in lat. 11° , are too marked a feature to escape the observation of the most obtuse, and the Johanna men all speak of the land on both sides as flat, the shores sandy, and the water shallow.

"I find in my note-book, under date 7th October, 1861, when at the foot of the hills inhabited by the Mavite on the shore of Nyassa, the following entry:—'Sisia, Kondowe, Photo, Matete, Mapunda, Chisanga, N'karamba; places between this and the other side, keeping by the bank. Chikamba, the chief of Sisia, fights with the Azitu (another name for the Mavite). The lake ends at Photo Shingo and Matete. . . . At Mapunda the lake is narrow.' Such was the information I collected regarding the lake when returning, after having explored and mapped 200 miles of its extent, but failed to reach the northern extremity, which seemed so near. I was told elsewhere that a river came from a marsh and joined the lake at the north, and also that there was a large river, the Ruvu. Mapunda was said to have cattle, and the lake to end, not at one place, but at the three above-named places, which were at the same time some distance apart.

"I am now inclined to believe that the Mapunda of this account is the Mapunda or Kampunda mentioned by Dr. Livingstone's Johanna men. We may yet obtain some information on questioning Arabs and natives of those parts. I have endeavoured and yet hope to find the native boy who was with Dr. Roscher at the time of his murder to the east of the lake; something, too, may be learned from Bombay, the head man of Speke's expedition, who is himself of the Wahiao tribe, and a native of the country on this side of the Mavite.

"You may rest assured that nothing will be left undone to elicit information by the Consul or myself. Full depositions will be sent home by the former, together with all other information, authentic or otherwise, we can obtain. We may say of Dr. Livingstone that his end came mercifully at last: few minutes seem to have elapsed between the first appearance of danger and the fatal blow.

"Let me close this very hurried letter, impressing once more on you that the information it contains is the result of an imperfect investigation; much has still to be elicited, much never will be

known. If I disbelieved the story, you know I would be the last to repeat it; but I do think that substantially, although not in detail, it is correct.

“JOHN KIRK.”

4. *Extracts from a Letter of DR. KIRK to SIR RODERICK MURCHISON, dated the 19th December, 1866.*

“DR. LIVINGSTONE had told us, in despatches of the 18th May, that north of the Rovuma, beyond the confluence, the Mavite, those emigrant Zulus mentioned by us as seen to the north-west of Nyassa, and as having migrated from south of the Zambesi about forty years ago, were devastating the whole country. He remained some time with the chief of Ngomano, at the confluence of the Niende (or Loende) and the Rovuma. Dr. Livingstone's predecessors on this route were the lamented young German, Dr. Albrecht Roscher, murdered by the people between the Rovuma and the Lake, and the late Baron von der Decken, who was driven back and since murdered farther north. But Livingstone has always passed where others failed, and he did so here. He advanced from Ngomano, first through level forest-land, thinly peopled, and afterwards through a mountainous region inhabited by the Waiao and Makua tribes, among whom he found good treatment, instead of treachery. But his party at the same time became thinner. The Bombay Marines collapsed, all but the Havildar, who followed his chief when the rest of his men returned to the coast. Some of the educated natives also absconded. He went on with the remaining Africans, the Johanna men, and the Havildar. The country he was in possessed a cool climate, and was peopled by scattered villagers, ruled by chiefs of considerable power, rich in cattle.

“He arrived on the eastern shore of Nyassa, at a place where the lake seems to have been narrow, and, what is more wonderful, shallow; but take native tales for what they may be worth. It is commonly asserted by the survivors that they were taken across in canoes propelled chiefly by means of long bamboos, and that, embarking in the morning, they had all crossed by noon. The shore on both sides was flat, but hills appeared to the south. I believe this was a little to the north of where I have placed the end of the lake in the map I communicated to the Royal Geographical Society, and which is published in the ‘Journal,’ volume xxxv. (I believe that this shallow water crossed by Livingstone was the river I heard of, which is said to come from a marsh.)

“Livingstone's first object, we know, was to determine the northern